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### The Week

ITALY has forsaken intervention. Facing a domestic situation which looks more and more like revolution the government declares that henceforth Italy will "in no wise favor Admiral Kolchak's scheme nor intervene in any way in the internal affairs of Russia or Hungary, but will recall Italian troops from foreign service with the Allied expeditions." Its renunciation is complete. On Tuesday there arrived in Naples the steamer *Cablons*, sailing from London with munitions for Kolchak. Thereupon the Italian government made first payment on its promise of non-intervention. Dockers made the crew of the *Cablons* unload their cargo. The government approved. Simultaneously the government has made other promises. It will regulate prices, free political prisoners, hasten demobilization, break up the general staff. Certainly Italy's withdrawal from Russia will have a profound effect in the Allied countries, no less upon the peoples than on the governments.

THE Allied governments still hold back from a declaration of the policy they will pursue in respect to the blockade on Russia. Different prophecies are made. The Associated Press, in a dispatch from Paris, declares that "the United States has constantly insisted that there has been no blockade against Russia except such as is incidental to the

embargo on imports to Germany." But Mr. Oulahan cables to the New York Times that a continued blockade is probable, and that "pressure" (League or no League?) may be applied to the neutrals to make them come in. Meantime, from London, a correspondent of the New York Tribune predicts that the blockade "may be lifted at any time." His prophecy is not based on a belief that the western democracies have seen the horror of starving a people because its government holds undesirable theories of ownership. "Lenin," he says, "has considerable gold and it is reported he is willing to pay cash for goods."

THE Bolshevik armies are in "Kolchak's pincers." That was the announcement made on Tuesday by Mr. Sack of the pro-Kolchak Russian Information Bureau. But Thursday brought the news that Soviet troops had gone a hundred and sixty miles southeast from Perm and driven Kolchak from Ekaterinburg. That is a heavy loss. For Ekaterinburg, in the heart of the Ural coal and iron mines, is a city of great manufactures—Kolchak's chief base of supply. Almost simultaneously there has been military action in the west. On Saturday a cable brought news of the Finnish army. The Finns had recently been ordered by the Council of Five to advance and seize Petrograd. Instead at least one entire Finnish army appears to have been routed. Finally on Monday came a London dispatch announcing that Denikin in the south "has been obliged to make another retreat owing to a further landing" from the Caspian Sea of Bolshevik reinforcements.

A NEW factor has made its appearance in the social and political life of Germany: Large scale strikes have broken out among the agricultural workers. Work has been stopped in many parts of Pomerania and East Prussia. These provinces form the classic land of the junkers. With the revolution the agrarian workers acquired for the first time the right to organize. They have tried to make wage agreements with the proprietors. But the junkers are as stiff-necked in peace as in war. And the strikes have followed. Crops are not immediately endangered, says the Prussian Department of Agriculture. There is still a month before the harvest. In that time a temporary peace may be patched up. But it will be more than a month before the land barons of eastern Germany bow to any government which has yet made its appearance in Berlin.

A NEW statement by General Jan Smuts shows him more clearly than ever the most resolute liberal now in high office.

To the people of England he gave counsel on Ireland, Germany and Russia. Ireland, he said, had become "a chronic wound, whose septic effects are spreading to our whole system, and through its influence on America is beginning to poison our most vital foreign relations." "Our statesmen . . . may not shirk from applying to Ireland the same medicine they applied to Bohemia and many another part of Europe." Turning to Germany General Smuts said, "You cannot have a stable Europe without a stable and settled Germany. You cannot have a stable and settled Britain while Germany is weltering in confusion . . . Do not let us deal with Ebert as we have dealt with Kerensky and Karolyi."

IT is what General Smuts says of Russia that should cut most deeply into the blundering councils of the Associated Powers. "Our military forces, tanks, and war materials may temporarily bolster up one side," he says, "but the real magnitude of the problem is quite beyond such expedients." What then? Leave Russia alone, remove the blockade, adopt an attitude of friendly neutrality and impartiality toward all parties. "It may well be that the only ultimate hope for Russia is a sobered, purified Soviet system, and that may be far better than barbarism, to which our present policy seems inevitably tending. Be patient with sick Russia. Give her time and sympathy. And await the results of her convalescence."

IN their National Conference the French Socialists have instructed their deputies in the Chamber to vote against ratification of the peace treaty. The party sums up its criticism on lines which its earlier statements have followed: "veiled annexation" of the Saar Valley; distribution of the German colonies as "spoils"; "obvious violations of popular rights in East Prussia"; a settlement "opposed to the best interests of France, against whom it everywhere prepares hatred and every kind of conflict." The League of Nations is an "hypocrisy" whose initiation "was accompanied by a violation of right in which certain of the Allies were victims—China, for instance,—despoiled of Shantung for the profit of Japan." To this final position has come the one group in France that did not regard Mr. Wilson as a meddler.

ARE these French Socialists, the "intellectuals," going far beyond the temper of the sober working groups? A recent issue of *Le Populaire* reports the national Congress of the most important trade union in France—the Railwaymen. This union, it seems, sent "fraternal greetings" to "all those revolutionaries who valiantly pursue their task of renovation—in Russia as well as in Germany and Hungary." The Congress, so one of its resolutions declared, "reproves any action of a military or diplomatic nature which is aimed at crushing the revolutions now taking place, either politically or economically; it also demands that the troops in Russia be recalled." Nothing that the Socialist party has done outdistances the action of these French trade unionists.

A SUMMARY of the completed treaty with Austria has been cabled to America. It indicates that the same procedure of assessing reparations is to be used in the case of

Austria as is used in the case of Germany. The same committee, in fact, is ultimately to fix a figure which for the present remains indefinite. In the Austrian settlement what is particularly vital to the world's peace is the honesty with which national boundaries have been drawn. The summary hints at certain provisions—says, for instance, that Czechoslovakia is to have a bridgehead "on the Danube, opposite Presbourg"; but it will not be possible to form a judgment of the territorial terms in the completed treaty until its full text has been published.

PROOF of Republican strength in the Senate is provided by the manner in which Democratic Senators have begun to sound the Republicans on what they think of "interpretative reservations." Reservations of this sort would merely state the views of the United States, on points to which objection was taken, and would not assert our refusal to be bound by them. It is rumored that Mr. Wilson would accept certain reservations of this kind. But if the Republicans compromise, if they abandon a resolute opposition to Article X and Shantung, they will be throwing away the two best issues they have placed before the American people since any of the present Senators came into office.

SENATOR SWANSON'S address advertised by some of the newspapers as the keynote speech in the campaign for ratification without amendment, was at no time particularly strong. But it was weakest in its defence of the surrender of Shantung to Japan. "It's like rewarding a person who has driven away a burglar," Mr. Swanson said. "Japan did just that, and now is entitled to recover the cost of that expensive operation." To what reward is America entitled, if not to an honorable settlement in the Far East?

IT is Woodrow Wilson who writes this paragraph (in *A History of the American People*, vol. 4): "In April, 1844, Mr. Tyler sent to the Senate a treaty of annexation which he had negotiated with Texas. Secret negotiations, a piece of business privately carried to completion and made public only when finished, suited well with the President's temper and way of action. A man naturally secretive, naturally fond, not of concealments, but of quiet and subtle management, not insincere, but indirect in his ways of approach, he relished statecraft of this sort and no doubt liked the Texas business all the better because it seemed to demand, in its very nature, a delicate and private handling. The Senate rejected the treaty by the very decisive vote of 16 to 35, men of both parties alike being irritated that the President should spring this weighty matter upon the country in such a fashion, taking no counsel beforehand save such as he chose to take."

IN Washington, during the recent race riots, negroes were surrounded in the streets, dragged from street-cars, and beaten by mobs of soldiers, sailors and civilians. This was in retaliation for certain attacks on white women during the past month. But, as is often the case, the violence had not even the doubtful virtue of being aimed at the real culprits. According to the *New York Times*, "a number

of disturbances were caused by civilians who, when a crowd of soldiers and sailors collected, pointed to *any negro who might be passing* and yelled, 'There he goes!' Such outcries generally were followed by an attack upon the negro by some of the sailors and soldiers." Instances of this brutal baiting took place within a block of the White House. Had they occurred, let us say, in Moscow, we should unfailingly have hailed them as evidence of a nation's inability to govern itself.

ON a single page of one of the New York newspapers there appeared on Thursday news of the following events: a street railways strike in Boston involving 8,000 workers; a shipping strike in New York that kept 400 vessels at their wharves; a complete tie-up of the Shore Line Electric Railway from Webster, Mass., to New Haven, Conn.; a strike vote being taken in Chicago by 15,000 surface and elevated railway employees; a strike of telephone operators and linemen in Cleveland; a strike of 8,000 workers in the International Harvester Company, of Chicago; a lockout of 100,000 building trades workers by Chicago contractors; and announcement of a possible strike ballot to be taken by twenty-four unions affiliated in the steel industry.

FOR all this conflict there is no one formula. High prices, refusal of union recognition, hours disputes and other issues are interwoven. But what is certain is that we are ill prepared for the unrest to which these disputes may be the prelude. We had a National War Labor Board which served rudely as a court of industrial justice, during the war. We have discontinued it. We had a federal employment service which was beginning to show national efficiency. Congress clipped its wings. Congress, lavish with its pork bills, has provided only a pittance for the federal bureaus which carry on inquiries into the causes of disputes throughout the country. One small office, known as the Bureau of Mediation and Conciliation, is now flooded with a business ten times too large for it. Meantime the wise committeemen of Congress draw espionage bills to bring us peace and appropriation bills to insure prosperity.

BEFORE an Investigating Committee in New York City Mr. James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, declared that "the legitimate labor organizations look upon Bolshevism as a joke." Mr. Holland left the committee some comfort, however, by distinguishing between legitimate and illegitimate. The Women's Trade Union League had Bolshevik tinges, he thought. So did the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The first of these organizations is one that the old-line opponents of women's rights in industry have consistently rebuffed; the second has won the textile trades almost entirely away from the A. F. of L. unions. Mr. Holland follows the course of other A. F. of L. leaders when he ridicules Bolshevism, in the A. F. of L., and then uses it as a weapon against "outsiders."

UNDER the headline "Church Programme Hits at Radicals" the New York Times prints a new statement made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Actually the programme contains recommendations of

a most liberal sort: payment of the war debt "by those most able to bear it"; release of conscientious objectors; "living wages, reasonable hours, safe conditions of labor, equal opportunities and pay for women"; participation of workers "in management and ownership"; abolition of child labor; and "the larger part of excess profits . . . to be devoted voluntarily to public uses or returned by taxation." The headline, misguiding to the hasty reader, is typical of the way liberal views are often handled when they come from a source that cannot be ignored.

"CLASS consciousness and the use of violence," continues the Church Council's statement, "are not confined to revolutionary groups. The possession of wealth and education tends to the formation of classes, and industrial ownership to a class conscious ruling group. We observe, also, with regret, numerous resorts to mob action in which returned soldiers and workmen have sometimes participated, frequently without police restraint; the continuing incitement to riot by certain public officials and periodicals; and the unfortunate and dangerous tendency of many state and municipal officials to deny fair hearings to radical offenders, and to use unnecessary and provocative brutality during strikes."

## Exhibit A: Shantung

AS a result of the outcry over Shantung one may inspect the structure of Mr. Wilson's diplomacy in the making of peace.

America prepares to enter the war, not merely to protect American rights on the high seas, but to make the world safe for democracy.

On the invitation of America, a weak nation, China, is invited to follow suit.

It is perfectly well known that one of our prospective associates in the war, Japan, has an aggressive policy towards China.

It is equally well known that another of our prospective associates, Britain, has an alliance with Japan.

It is equally well known that American assistance is absolutely vital. With the utmost decency, we take no advantage of this fact. We ask no reward out of our friend's necessities. But at the same time we neglect to safeguard the interests of our ward, China.

America makes no inquiries about the promise being made to Japan concurrently with America's decision to wage the war for no material gain of her own.

As the war progresses the State Department hears persistent rumors of the secret pledges to Japan. (We assume that it heard about them because everybody else did. See Evening Post July 16th.) Nothing tangible is done to protect China's interest, entrusted to our safekeeping.

The peace conference meets. For the first time the secret pledges are revealed.

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